

couple of weeks and then possibly even get this bill back to the Senate within the month. So we are well on our way.

I want to thank all Members for their cooperation, for their willingness to offer amendments, and to come to the floor and debate it. Obviously, we have had a spirited debate, but one that has not just provided some heat but also hopefully provided a great deal of light as to the relative positions of the Senators on either side of this issue, and even the broader issue of abortion in general.

Mr. REID. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. SANTORUM. Yes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Democratic whip.

Mr. REID. I have said this a couple of times during the past few weeks, and I want to say this again. The leader could have come and filed cloture on this legislation very quickly, but he has obviously made a decision the Senate works best when people are allowed to offer amendments and speak their piece. There is no better example of that than this controversial legislation. All the amendments offered were on our side, and I think it speaks well of the direction that the Senate is going. We still have some obstacles we have to get over, but I again state that the pattern set by the majority leader in allowing debate to take place is good for this body, and I think the debate has been healthy. It has been very adversarial. That is what the Senate is supposed to be. There has been very heated debate on this issue. I think the Senate is better for this.

This issue has been aired. There were procedural efforts made to take it back to committee, and there was a lot of good debate. Again, I direct this to the majority leader—and I speak on behalf of Senator DASCHLE and the rest of the minority—we appreciate allowing us to act as the Senate should act.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. SANTORUM. I do not want to go without praising my own majority leader also. He obviously set the tone for this debate not only by structuring the way by which this debate proceeded, but very importantly in coming to the floor and laying out, in very strong arguments, the case against this procedure from a perspective that is unique in the Senate, which is the perspective of a physician.

I am going to have a few more things to say in a few minutes, but before I do that, I thank my incredible staff for helping me through this process, Heather MacLean and Wayne Palmer. Heather and Wayne were terrific in preparing for this debate. There was an obvious range on a wide variety of things, things, frankly, we did not even anticipate. They did an outstanding job in preparation, and an outstanding job in getting information to make me look good, which, I am sure many Senators will confirm, is not the easiest thing in the world to do.

I thank them both very much for their excellent assistance. I am not

surprised, by any stretch of the imagination, regarding their incredible work, but I am very grateful.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. SANTORUM. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. SANTORUM. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent the Senate proceed to a period of morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT ACT OF 2001

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, I rise today to speak about the need for hate crimes legislation. In the last Congress Senator KENNEDY and I introduced the Local Law Enforcement Act, a bill that would add new categories to current hate crimes law, sending a signal that violence of any kind is unacceptable in our society.

I would like to describe a terrible crime that occurred August 26, 2001 in Las Cruces, NM. A gay New Mexico State University student was beaten by two fellow students. Prior to the beating, the two attackers asked the victim if he was gay. According to police, a friend of the victim was followed that same night by three other men who asked him several times if he was also gay.

I believe that Government's first duty is to defend its citizens, to defend them against the harms that come out of hate. The Local Law Enforcement Enhancement Act is a symbol that can become substance. I believe that by passing this legislation and changing current law, we can change hearts and minds as well.

WINNING THE PEACE IN IRAQ

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, as President Bush prepares for war with Iraq, the administration also must prepare to win the peace.

While I have grave reservations about this administration's rush to war with Iraq, we all hope that if the President goes forward, the war will be quick and our troops will be safe.

But we must also recognize that once war is launched, American obligations in Iraq are only just beginning. The instant we occupy Iraq, we become responsible for the security, care, and feeding of its people—even the education of its children. Years of reconstruction and assistance to the Iraqi people will be necessary to bring Iraq to independence into the family of nations. And we can expect an American

presence in that country for months and even years to come.

This is an enormous enterprise and an extraordinary obligation. But to win the peace in Iraq, we must get it right.

Today the Council on Foreign Relations issued a report on how this might be accomplished. The experts who contributed to this thoughtful report bring years of experience in addressing post-conflict reconstruction issues in both Republican and Democratic administrations.

The task force that developed this report was chaired by former Ambassador Thomas Pickering and former Defense Secretary James Schlesinger. And the project director is Eric Schwartz, who served in the Clinton White House as a senior official in the National Security Council.

The administration and Congress would do well to heed their recommendations. And I ask unanimous consent that the executive summary of the report be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IRAQ: THE DAY AFTER

REPORT OF AN INDEPENDENT TASK FORCE ON POST-CONFLICT IRAQ

Sponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations, Thomas R. Pickering and James R. Schlesinger, Co-Chairs, and Eric P. Schwartz, Project Director

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

If the United States goes to war and removes the regime of Saddam Hussein, American interests will demand an extraordinary commitment of U.S. financial and personnel resources to post-conflict transitional assistance and reconstruction. These interests include eliminating Iraqi weapons of mass destruction (WMD); ending Iraqi contacts, whether limited or extensive, with international terrorist organizations; ensuring that a post-transition Iraqi government can maintain the country's territorial integrity and independence while contributing to regional stability; and offering the people of Iraq a future in which they have a meaningful voice in the vital decisions that impact their lives.

But U.S. officials have yet to fully describe to Congress and the American people the magnitude of the resources that will be required to meet post-conflict needs. Nor have they outlined in detail their perspectives on the structure of post-conflict governance. The Task Force believes that these issues require immediate attention, and encourages the administration to take action in four key areas:

Key Recommendation #1: An American political commitment to the future of Iraq: The president should build on his recent statements in support of U.S. engagement in Iraq by making clear to Congress, the American people, and the people of Iraq that the United States will stay the course. He should announce a multibillion dollar, multiyear post-conflict reconstruction program and seek formal congressional endorsement. By announcing such a program, the president would give Iraqis confidence that the United States are committed to contribute meaningfully to the development of Iraq and would enable U.S. government agencies to plan more effectively for long-term U.S. involvement.

The scale of American resources that will be required could amount to some \$20 billion

per year for several years. This figure assumes a deployment of 75,000 troops for post-conflict peace stabilization (at about \$16.8 billion annually), as well as funding for humanitarian and reconstruction assistance (as recommended immediately below). If the troop requirements are much larger than 75,000—a genuine possibility—the funding requirement would much greater.

For reconstruction and humanitarian assistance alone, the president should request from Congress \$3 billion for a one-year period, and make clear the United States will be prepared to make substantial additional contributions in the future. This initial contribution would include \$2.5 billion for reconstruction and \$500 million for humanitarian aid. (However, if there are significant interruptions in the availability of Iraqi oil revenues for the Oil for Food Program, the figure for humanitarian assistance would need to be considerably higher).

Key Recommendation #2: Protecting Iraqi civilians—a key to winning the peace: From the outset of conflict, the U.S. military should deploy forces with a mission to establish public security and provide humanitarian aid. This is distinct from the tasks generally assigned to combat troops, but it will be critical to preventing lawlessness and reassuring Iraqis who might otherwise flee their homes. As women and children will constitute the majority of refugees and internally displaced persons, special efforts should be made to ensure that they are protected from sexual assault and that their medical and health care needs are met. The Bush administration should sustain this public security focus throughout the transition. None of the other U.S. objectives in rebuilding Iraq would be realized in the absence of public security. If the administration fails to address this issue effectively, it would fuel the perception that the result of the U.S. intervention is an increase in humanitarian suffering.

Additional recommendations—protecting Iraqi civilians: Assist civilian victims of any use of WMD. The U.S. and coalition partners should be ready to conduct rapid assessment of any WMD damage, publicize the results of such assessments, provide information to Iraqis on how to mitigate the impact of WMD use, and provide assistance to alleviate the health effects of WMD exposures should it occur.

Seek to ensure protection for displaced persons and refugees. Administration officials should press neighboring governments to provide safe haven in their countries to fleeing Iraqis. If the government of Turkey and other governments are determined to establish camps within the territory of Iraq, U.S. officials should seek to ensure that such camps are safe and secure.

Sustain, for the time being, the basic structure of the Oil for Food Program. U.S. officials should work closely and intensively with the World Food Program (WFP) to ensure the continuation of the distribution network that sustains the Oil for Food Program in central and southern Iraq. The program should be modified over time to ensure transparency and effectiveness in meeting Iraqi needs.

Actively recruit international civilian police (civpol) and constabulary forces. Constabulary units such as Italy's Carabinieri have equipment, training, and organization that enable it to maintain public order and address civil unrest. In addition, international civilian police could play an important role in vetting, training, and mentoring Iraqi police.

Key Recommendation #3: Sharing the burden for post-conflict transition and reconstruction: The Bush administration should move quickly to involve international orga-

nizations and other governments in the post-conflict transition and reconstruction process. This move will lighten the load on U.S. military and civilian personnel, and help to diminish the impression that the United States seeks to control post-transition Iraq.

The Bush administration will likely be reluctant, especially early in the transition process, to sacrifice unity of command. On the other hand, other governments may be hesitant to participate in activities in which they have little responsibility. The Task Force recommends that the administration address this dilemma by promoting post-conflict Security Council resolutions that endorse U.S. leadership on security and interim civil administration in post-conflict Iraq, but also envision meaningful international participation and the sharing of responsibility for decision-making in important areas. The resolutions could direct WFP or another international humanitarian organization to assume lead responsibility for humanitarian assistance (and involve NGOs and Iraqi civil society in aid management and delivery); indicate that the United Nations will take responsibility in organizing (with U.S. support and assistance) the political consultative process leading to a transition to a new Iraqi government; establish an oil oversight board for Iraq; authorize the continuation of the UN's Oil for Food Program; establish a consortium of donors in conjunction with the World Bank and the IMF, to consider Iraqi reconstruction needs as well as debt relief; and indicate that responsibilities in other areas could be transferred to the United Nations and/or other governments as conditions permit.

Key recommendation #4: Making Iraqis stakeholders throughout the transition process: The administration should ensure that Iraqis continued to play key roles in the administration of public institutions, subject to adequate vetting. Continuity of basic services will be essential, and will require that thousands of Iraqi civil servants continue to do their jobs. In addition, every effort should be made quickly to establish Iraqi consultative mechanisms on political, constitutional, and legal issues, so that the period of interim governance will be limited and characterized by Iraqi engagement on the political as well as administrative level.

Additional recommendation—making Iraqis stakeholders: Encourage a geographically based, federal system of government in Iraq. In northern Iraq, the Kurdish population has operated outside of regime control for over a decade. While decisions on Iraq's constitutional structure should be made by Iraqis, the Task Force believes that a solution short of a federal system will risk conflict in a future Iraq, and that U.S. officials should adopt this perspective in their discussions with Iraqi counterparts and with Iraq's neighbors.

OTHER ISSUES OF CONCERN TO THE TASK FORCE

The rule of law and accountability: Police training must be supplemented by efforts to build other components of a system of justice, especially courts. The Task Force thus makes the following recommendations: Deploy judicial teams, seek international involvement. The administration should promote the post-conflict deployment of U.S. and international legal and judicial assistance teams to help address immediate and longer term post-conflict justice issues.

Act early on accountability, seek international involvement in the process, and ensure a key role for Iraqis. Given the enormity of human rights abuses by the regime, the Task Force believes that accountability issues should be an early priority for the transitional administration. International involvement in the process, either through

the creation of an international ad hoc tribunal, or the development of a mixed tribunal, will enhance the prospects for success. The Task Force notes that a truth and reconciliation process could be established concurrently with such a tribunal, as a complement to criminal accountability for those who bear greatest responsibility for abuses.

The Iraqi oil industry: U.S. officials will have to develop a posture on a range of questions relating to control the oil industry, such as how decisions on contracts for equipment and oil field rehabilitation will be made; who will consider and make judgments on the viability of executory contracts for development of oil fields, which have as a condition precedent the lifting of sanctions; and what will be required for transition from the Oil for Food Program to a transparent and accountable indigenous system to receive and disburse oil-related revenues?

The Task Force recommends that the administration strike a careful balance between the need to ensure that oil revenues benefit the people of Iraq and the importance of respecting the right of Iraqis to make decisions about their country's natural resources. In particular, the administration should undertake the following steps: Emphasize publicly that the United States will respect and defend Iraqi ownership of the country's economic resources, especially oil; seek an internationally sanctioned legal framework to assure a reliable flow of Iraqi oil and to reserve to a future Iraqi government the determination of Iraq's general oil policy. The removal of the regime will not alter Iraqi obligations under the existing, UN-managed, legal framework for oil, but it will likely result in the need for modifications. The Task Force believes that a new framework, which could be affirmed by a Security Council resolution, could establish a decision-making oversight board with international and significant Iraqi participation.

Address potential impact of regime change on Jordanian oil imports from Iraq: The Iraqi regime has provided the government of Jordan with free and heavily discounted oil. It is unclear whether such arrangements would continue in the post-conflict environment. In view of Jordan's economic situation and its important role on regional and international security issues, the administration should make efforts to address Jordanians' needs in this area.

Regional diplomatic and security issues: In the Gulf, U.S. officials will confront the challenge of effectively downsizing the Iraqi military while seeking to promote a longer-term security balance in which Iraq's territorial integrity can be maintained. In the Middle East, a successful U.S. and coalition intervention in Iraq will raise expectations about a new U.S. diplomatic initiative on the Arab-Israeli dispute. On these issues, the Task Force makes the following recommendations: Closely monitor restructuring and professionalization of the Iraqi military, as well as disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration. These tasks are likely to be carried out largely by private contractors and/or international development organizations, and will require close supervision of what might otherwise be an uncoordinated effort. In addition, the Bush administration should promote programs in this area that include curricula emphasizing civilian control of the military and respect of human rights.

Consider a regional forum for discussion of security issues. The administration should strongly consider encouraging a security forum with states in the region. The forum could address confidence-building measures, and related issues such as external security guarantees and nonproliferation.

Initiate post-conflict action on the Middle East Peace Process. The Task Force encourages the administration to give high priority to an active, post-conflict effort to engage the peace process, and also believes that any such action by the administration must be accompanied by greater efforts by Arab states and the Palestinian leadership to discourage and condemn acts of terrorism and violence against Israelis and elsewhere in the region.

NOMINATION OF JUDGE GREGORY FROST

Mr. DEWINE. Mr. President, I rise to speak in strong support of the nomination of Judge Gregory Frost, whom the President has nominated to be United States District Court Judge for the Southern District of Ohio, and whom the Senate confirmed just two days ago. I have had the pleasure of knowing Judge Frost for many, many years and can say with confidence that he is exceptionally qualified for this position. I believe that he will be an excellent Federal Judge.

Judge Frost currently serves as Judge on the Licking County Common Pleas Court in Newark, OH. He has been on the Licking County bench for the past 19 years—serving first as a Municipal Court judge from 1983 to 1990 before being elected to his current position.

As I discussed during his Judiciary Committee hearing, while on the Licking County bench, Judge Frost was selected to take the lead in writing the jury instructions for the State of Ohio. This is no small undertaking. These jury instructions provide the framework in which all jury cases in the State of Ohio are deliberated. The fact that he was chosen to do this reflects the esteem in which his colleagues hold him.

Before serving on the bench, Judge Frost served in private practice and also served an assistant Licking County prosecutor from 1974 until 1978. Having seen how the trial process works from many different perspectives—as a prosecutor, a defense attorney, and a judge—Judge Frost knows what defines good judicial temperament, and I believe that he has it.

While on the bench, his graciousness and dedication have earned him the respect of those inside and outside of his courtroom. I received many letters of support for Judge Frost that attest to this.

Without question, Judge Frost will be a fine addition to the District Court. He has the experience, the temperament, and the dedication to be an excellent Federal judge. I strongly support his nomination and thank my colleagues for voting in support of his nomination.

JUSTICE NEEDED FOR THE MURDER OF PRIME MINISTER ZORAN DJINDIC

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, this morning's news of the assassination of

Serbian Prime Minister Zoran Djindic is deeply saddening.

Prime Minister Djindic was a man of courage and determination—whether tackling economic and political reforms or securing the extradition of war criminal Slobodan Milosevic to The Hague. He understood and accepted the risks of leadership in a transitional Serbia, and bravely served his compatriots.

Prime Minister Djindic rightly believed that Serbia's future rests with the rule of law, free markets, and a democratic political system. Threats against his life—including an assassination attempt only last month—underscored that his reform agenda directly challenging entrenched segments of Serbian society, including organized crime and the cronies of Slobodan Milosevic who continue to serve in the government and military.

Prime Minister Djindic scoffed at the notion that his untimely demise would derail Serbia's reform efforts. After last month's incident, he said, "If someone thinks the law and reforms can be stopped by eliminating me, then that is a huge delusion."

Those who share the Prime Minister's vision of peace and prosperity for Serbia cannot—and must not—give up their struggle. There is no better way to honor Zoran Djindic than to redouble efforts to implement reforms and to strengthen the rule of law.

During this uncertain time, the champions of reform and democracy in Serbia should know that the U.S. Congress continues to stand by their side; crime bosses and war criminals should know that the United States is committed to aiding reformers in their defeat.

We will continue to closely follow developments in Serbia and throughout the region—and will remain vigilant in demanding justice for the murder of Zoran Djindic.

ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

SUPPORT FOR COMMUNITY HEALTH CENTER

• Mr. NELSON of Nebraska. Mr. President, I would like to express my strong support for Lincoln, NE's application for a community health center. I met recently with Secretary Tommy Thompson and discussed the proposal with him. He reacted positively, assuring me that the application would be given top priority.

The need for this facility in Lincoln is great. Lincoln is experiencing an influx of immigrant families who lack health care coverage and are in critical need of medical care. And Nebraska, like other States, is facing budgetary constraints due to the downturn in the economy and reduced its Medicaid rolls leaving more people without health insurance.

The new health center, which will be called the Peoples' Health Center of

Lincoln, will provide many services to the area including: primary medical care, primary dental care and oral health education, lab services, social work and health education. With the Federal funds, the community will be able to proceed to develop these health services to the uninsured and underinsured in Lincoln.

I look forward to HHS's grant announcement and am hopeful that Lincoln's application will be approved.●

HONORING DR. R. BRENT WRIGHT

• Mr. BUNNING. Mr. President, I speak in recognition of Dr. R. Brent Wright of Glasgow, Kentucky. Dr. Wright is a recipient of the American Medical Association's AMA Foundation Leadership Award at the 2003 AMA National Advocacy Conference held in Washington, D.C. earlier this month.

Each year the AMA takes an opportunity to honor young physicians who, in addition to offering patients quality medical attention, show a strong dedication to community affairs and leadership in the medical community. Only 25 young physicians in the nation receive this distinguished honor and I am proud that a fellow Kentuckian has been recognized for his innovative and hard work.

Dr. Wright serves as a family physician at the University of Louisville Health Science Center in Glasgow, Kentucky. No stranger to serving the needs of the community, he is Chair of the Community Medical Care Clinical Committee which offers assistance to uninsured and employed individuals. Dr. Wright is also active with medical associations, such as the AMA and the Kentucky Medical Association Congress of Delegates, and he serves as the Acting Program Director of the University of Louisville/Glasgow Family Medicine Residency Program.

His commitment to improving the health care system one patient at a time is certainly serving Kentucky well. I look forward to seeing the future accomplishments of his promising career, and I am pleased the Senate is joining me in honoring Dr. R. Brent Wright.●

IN RECOGNITION OF THE 35th ANNIVERSARY OF PROJECT REHAB

• Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, today it is my great pleasure to recognize Project Rehab for 35 years of dedicated service promoting personal and community health throughout my home State of Michigan.

Since 1968, Project Rehab has functioned as a community-based outreach to people experiencing behavioral and mental health problems. Project in Rehabilitation began as the joint effort of Dr. William Kooistra and Dr. Chet Maternowski to offer counseling and treatment to heroin addicts in Grand Rapids, MI. Through their valuable service, Drs. Kooistra and Maternowski promoted awareness of drug addiction